/330 cont./

Ce 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

Ce Ce 177 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery. Ce [323]

Ce 177 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

175 /332 cont./ Permanent
[3] villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques.
[361] The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to
[62] the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the
most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco.
● 161 The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures,
given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and
[114] 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number,
which completely removes all value from these statistics."
(Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

131 Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed
[178] about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory
whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less
[162] undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from
Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area
that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists,
but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark
161 the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the num-
131 ber of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing
each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/
of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and
the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan
missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as
those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

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1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8



In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purisima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as *"Guarayos."*

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

## ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely hap-
pens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a
wide area, in one place or another receives showers which re-
new nature.

## Extent and Area

131
• [161] The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[464] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/41 cont./

*136 ZORRO /fox/. -- This quadruped is not scarce here among the Chiriguano; it thus seems that it adapts to every climate. It is so intrepid that at night it will go about the towns without betraying its presence to the dogs, but if they do smell it, they pursue it immediately and even kill it, although they may suffer for it, because the dog of the Chiriguano Indian and the fox are equally skinny, but among several of them they achieve their purpose and kill it.

This dauntless beast leaves nothing; it makes its meal off whatever it encounters; it causes considerable damage in the cane fields from the time when the plants begin to become sweet and even pulls up recently planted shoots from their furrows or holes. It slashes watermelons and melons without allowing them to ripen, and as a result of this the farmer often does not taste these gifts. It also does damage in maize fields, but this is an abundant crop and the harm is not felt so much; when it can obtain chickens, it does not fail to provide itself with a good lunch or supper, and to this end it approaches towns and houses in the country by day as well.

There are several classes and sizes of them, but they are smaller, like every animal, than those of the other hemisphere. It is difficult to chase them out of the cane fields, the damage to which will only be reduced by reducing the number of foxes, and this can only be achieved by the use of strychnine or some other poison, which, mixed with small bits of meat, is placed on the various trails that they have opened, causing damage to the sugar-cane plants.

*136 *825 776 178 We shall see in the course of these pages that the Chiriguano used to venerate it as a divinity with the name of "Aguara-Tunpa," or Fox-God, to whom they attributed more power because he was capable of destroying the works of the true tunpa. Today, when the region has been invaded and populated by so many whites and foreigners and the Chiriguano have been reduced to a handful scattered here and there, those who believe in such humbug are few.

● [161]

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[171] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Siriono (2).

[197] 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Siriono, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

175 /73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the
648 discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the
[131] area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders
[161] of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575
in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take
charge of the territory; the Chiriguano lived in the areas
around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely
to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to
invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia
ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might
serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new
attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

[727] Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

λ[i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
[181] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have
ooo been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers.

464 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers,
999 and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers. /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

175 464 [161] [797] [162] Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

4: Nino--402 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/297/

## Chapter Fourteen

## Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

### Introduction

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The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the
• 161 Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through
464 epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather
466 considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either
648 because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

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[184]

The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded: they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost